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Stipulated Arbitration as a substitute for war, and wishing to co-operate with others in an enterprise promising such blessings to this country, and to the world, do now

*Resolve*, That we will endeavor, within our bounds, efficiently to promote petitioning the President as proposed, and to give full effect to the recommendation of the General Convention.

*Resolved*, further, That the churches of this Consociation be requested to take action on this subject.

T. A. MERRILL, *Register*.

Now, why should not every ecclesiastical body and every church in the land take similar action on this subject, and carry it at once into effect? Does not the object deserve and demand it of them? If they would do so, how surely and speedily might we hope to gain the great object for which we are now laboring—such a treaty stipulation between us and England for the peaceful adjustment of all future misunderstandings as would, so far as respects these two nations, actually supersede the practice of war. This result is now clearly within the reach of Christians in our land.

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## STIPULATED ARBITRATION BETWEEN ENGLAND AND AMERICA.

BY AARON FOSTER.

War has long been relied on as the main chance, the "ultima ratio regum." Very often has it been tried; and its results are recorded in the histories of all nations, to be read of all men. The summing up of these histories of wars to settle national controversies, is a revelation of the cause of the decline and fall of nations; a revelation of sufferings, expenses, crimes; a revelation of practical folly, pride, obstinacy, blindness, wickedness; a revelation of the impolicy of war, and of its inability to make any good settlement of controversies between nations. Have not Christian nations learned this revelation? If not, when will they learn it? How much more fighting will teach them to adopt a peaceful, treaty-making way of deciding controversies?

It is a wise maxim, to provide against foreseen evils. War is a foreseen evil of the first magnitude; and there is a Christian way of settling disputes by the just decision of men, and of securing this settlement by Stipulated Arbitration. One of the resolutions discussed and adopted in the Peace Congress, at London, July, 1851, defines what this arbitration means, "That, as an appeal to the sword can settle no question on any principle of equity and right, it is the duty of governments to refer to the decision of competent and impartial arbitrators, such differences arising between them as cannot be otherwise amicably adjusted." An article like this inserted in a treaty between any two nations, and kept in good faith, dismisses war with its sufferings, expenses and crimes, and secures permanent Christian peace, with all its commercial, industrial and moral prosperities.

Long time I have meditated on such an article of a few lines in a treaty between England and America. Almost daily, for many years, I have sought the help of God in showing our rulers and people the wisdom and Christianity of peace by arbitration, without war. It must and will be done; for such a treaty stipulation would meet the demands of the common sense of all right-minded people in the world. The inability of war to secure just rights is well known. As a means of international justice, it is a worn out experiment, an utter and miserable failure. It is time to try in

earnest some rational, peaceful substitute, like arbitration, expressly provided for in treaties,—Stipulated Arbitration. Let England and America make this experiment, and *do it now*. Shall we call it in truth an *experiment*? No; its utility is “a fixed fact,” as proved by every treaty of peace hitherto made. Just look at the process of forming such treaties. Men, delegated by two governments, meet to adjust, by conference, the claims of each nation, and the conditions of friendly intercourse, and the result is a treaty of peace. Such treaties are made at the termination of wars, and made also in the midst of peace, settling conflicting interests before war, and thus preventing war. These are the true arbitrators of nations, always indispensable to a treaty of peace, whether there has been the cutting of throats or not. Before war is declared, it is known certainly that its cause will be settled, not by the war itself, but by Commissioners of Peace to form a treaty, who are a band of arbitrators; for they adjust the differences, each for his own country, by the best judgment he can command. It agrees with the practical wisdom of all right-minded people, at the present time, to dispense with fighting altogether, and let the international treaties secure perpetual arbitration. This, in truth, is now the “*ultima ratio regum*,” the final, practical application of Christian principles by nations in settling their differences. It is the true realization of the “peace on earth, and good will to men;” the true fulfilment of the ‘beating of swords into plowshares, and learning war no more.’ With such treaties throughout Europe, preparations for war would in due time cease. Such a treaty meets the demand of humanity, of economy, of experience in war, and of all Christian peace.

England and the United States will find that Stipulated Arbitration, or an express provision in a treaty for the final adjustment of their conflicting interests by arbitration, would meet some of the special wants and conditions of the two nations.

We possess a common Christianity, and our views and practice harmonize very essentially together. There are more Bible readers in these two countries than there are, or ever were, in all the world beside, in any one age. In the English language there is more freedom of thought, of speech and of conscience, and a more perfect application of Christian ideas to practical life, than there is in all the world beside. The steam and the press interchange our thoughts and doings on all things every ten days. We know that trade is a permanent interest, of the highest value; and the more it is conducted in accordance with Christian morals, the more secure and valuable it must be. Literature, the arts and discoveries, are as common to us both as is the English language itself; and the more closely to Christian morals these are conducted, the better it will be for all people. To the harmonious action of these two nations, more than of all others put together, is entrusted the controlling influence of the world, especially its moral and Christian interests; and we are sure that this responsibility to God and mankind cannot be so divided as to be in two hostile parts. “It is now and forever one and inseparable” between these two nations. We know that our relations are such every way as to make war as great a calamity, and as great a crime, as it ever was between any two nations since the flood. We know that no circumstances can occur to make such a war less than the greatest of calamities, and the greatest of crimes. We know that war is not the natural or Christian condition of success in any good thing, nor the reliable or the Christian mode of settling conflicting interests, and obtaining justice. We know that peace is the true policy of these nations, as true and as permanent a policy as trade, or literature, or the circulation of the Bible; and that peace ought to be established on as permanent a basis as the Christian religion itself, as permanent as the most precious interests of these nations. War, indeed, is a calamity from which Christianity has suffered more than from any other. These two nations have *suffered more from wars than from any other and all other causes. This*

*peace interest ought to be made permanent by a double guard of securities.* All these assertions are eminently true, and fully admitted by the intelligent people of both countries.

But the securities for peace between these nations are more imperfect than the securities for any of their other great interests. In the last fifteen years, we have been in near danger of a war at least three times for want of a treaty provision to settle just those differences which war can never settle, and which, either before or after war, must be settled by the peaceful judgment of arbitrators. It is not fifteen months since the English sent their armed vessels to protect the fishing grounds around Newfoundland. Had the blood of a single American fisherman been shed, it could hardly have failed to kindle a war-spirit among our people that would have increased the difficulty of an amicable settlement of the fishery question. These vessels sent by the British minister, Derby, revived the hazard of a war. Such hazards ought to be placed forever beyond the power of ambitious, unreflecting, or inexperienced men. Ministers and Secretaries of State, who are entrusted with the government of nations, have expended their wisdom on defence, on preparing for war, because no treaty has provided an amicable adjustment of contingent difficulties.

Peace has been left *unprotected*. The wisdom of the nations has not spent much thought on the securities of peace. Governments have taken counsel of their own pride and ambition, rather than of patience, forbearance, love. National glory has been contemplated in war a thousand times more than in peace. The interest of the individual citizen, and the spirit of peace, have been scorned in the presence of a false estimate of national honor and greatness. *The powers of peace have not been comprehended, and therefore not trusted.* It has been said by our wise men, "In time of peace, prepare for war;" while it *should* have been said, as the general rule, *In time of peace prepare for PEACE, and prepare by treaty.* This providing for the contingencies of war, not by being ready for battle, but by the power of peace itself, by Stipulated Arbitration, is now demanded by the common conscience, the common sense and common heart of all sensible people; and it claims a great deal more thought and discussion than it has received from the men who hold in their hands the power of England and America.

Since nations have often leagued together, and bound themselves by treaties, to make war and conquest, why not do the same for peace? If to destroy, why not to preserve? Why may not England and the United States make a league of perpetual peace for our own commerce and industry, for the mutual good will of our own citizens, and for our united peace influence on other nations? Again I ask, why not? Why not, *at this time*, form an alliance for industrial, peaceful, holy objects, as hitherto alliances have been made for barbarous, fiendish war? Why not hereafter unite to save, as heretofore to destroy? Since war alliances have proved what evils they can do, why may not peace alliances have the opportunity to show the good they can do? Since the one has shown its injustice, waste, enmity and crime, let the other show its justice, tranquillity, thrift and harmony.

Such alliances of peace will and must be made. Why not begin with England and the United States, and begin *now*? If such an experiment is needed, these surely are the nations to make it. In every respect, we are the best qualified among nations for a successful trial. If it is, in fact, no experiment; if peace is the true policy of nations; if it is the demand of reason, the well-known demand of the Saviour, the undeniable will and prophecy of God, that nations join in perpetual leagues of peace, then why not make a beginning somewhere? Why not England and the United States set the first example, and do it now? Yes, England and America, the Mother and the Daughter. We have the hearts of the English people already with us, and ours is going to them as fast as we know them. Eve-

rything good in heaven and earth draws us together. So truly are the English our friends, that it must be some incredible act of injustice on our part that could make a war with us popular in Britain. Why should we two nations nourish any ideas of war between us? Why not shut up the temple of Mars forever, and say to all nations, 'between us two, and as many as will join the same league of peace, there shall be no more war forever? We are bound *by treaty* to settle our differences before war; and between us the spears shall be pruning hooks, and the swords shall be plowshares; by the great league of peace, we will lead the way among the nations of the earth in fulfilling this prophecy.'

Are governments to do nothing to perpetuate peace? Is individual enterprise to do everything for the security of peace? Humanity, benevolence, is all for peace. The arts, sciences, inventions, bind nations together. Genius attracts genius, without respect to nations or languages. Christianity is a universal brotherhood. While the enterprise of the people carries peace on the iron rail, and on the ocean steamer, shall our two governments still linger in the old armor and battle-fields of war, in standing armies and millions for defence in time of peace? Thus lingering in the old ideas, unable to emerge out of them, they continue to talk about the possibility of war, and pay the annual millions to be ready in case of war, long after the public heart would have sustained the rulers in ratifying treaties of everlasting peace.

The great body of the people of both nations love peace; love the avails of their own industry; know the impolicy of war in securing justice; know much of its expenses and crimes; know the conditions of the Saviour, that nations and men shall love each other, shall live in peace one with the other. The people in general know so much as this. Sir David Brewster, when taking the chair to preside in the Congress of Peace at London, July, 1851, said, "In America, every man *that thinks* is a friend of universal peace." I should think that this may be applied to the English people with as much truth, as to the American.

Why should not Lord Aberdeen and President Pierce make the trial of such an article, and for once *hazard* something for peace? Every thing, property and liberty and life, has been staked and lost in the chances of war many times. Let those gentlemen *for once* be wise and Christian and courageous enough to venture on permanent peace.

Let them bring this substitute for war into the debates of Parliament and of Congress; and when it shall there be adopted, let it come back for ratification to the Senate of the United States. Perpetual peace with these nations is a richer theme of eloquence than any which has been in debate by any legislative body in the history of nations. The debate would review the progress and results of wars, and present them in such an aspect, as would compel the conviction, that there must be a wiser and better way than war to settle national differences. It would bring out before the people, and before the world, the influence of these two great nations leagued in perpetual peace,—the moral Christian influence, the pecuniary influence, the political influence, the union of friendship, of strength and prosperity, secured by the approbation and consequent blessing of the God of peace. There are men in each of these governments able and ready to conduct this debate, so as to spread the knowledge of peace and war with great rapidity, and stimulate public thought and prayer for universal peace.

What are the objections to such a treaty? I see not one. These two nations have lived in peace nearly forty years, have avoided wars on three occasions by special negotiation,—in the case of Alexander McLeod and the Caroline, the Maine boundary, and the Oregon dispute. Our boundaries are now so settled, that no more difficult controversies with England are likely to grow out of that question. The fishery question is prospectively settled, and need never be a cause of war. No question of trade has been or is

likely to be, a war question in these nations. All trade has been arranged by treaty. We can think of no future controversy that would not be a proper subject for arbitration, especially since these nations are daily reaching a higher disposition of justice toward each other.

What would be the influence upon the United States of such a treaty of permanent peace with England? We have never warred with any nation off this continent, except England. It is not likely that any other nation would think of making war with us, if we had not an armed vessel on the sea, nor an armed regiment on land, and our war expenses were reduced to a million annually. With our wealth and numbers, railroads and steam power, with our national spirit, the hopeless prospect of any permanent results to any European nation, and the unsupportable expense of such an attempt, the intelligence which this nation would receive of any such purpose almost as soon as it was formed, would, on the one hand, give us ample time to be ready for them, and on the other, make such a project appear utterly impracticable before it could begin to be attempted. Our annually growing power will annually increase the desire in European nations for another mode than war, or preparation for war, to secure their interests with us. This peace allegiance with England would also add moral strength to our position before the world. Not many years would pass before some other nation would apply to be received into the league. All our twenty-five millions of war expenses might be saved, except so much as protects our southern frontier. Our soldiers and marines might be dismissed to their home industry, and the language, the glory, and the spirit of war be dismissed from our country and our posterity forever. The men and the age that negotiated such a treaty of permanent peace, would be remembered in history, through the long ages of universal peace. As our Pilgrim Fathers, and as the distinguished men of our Revolution, are the theme of inquiry and admiration in our history, our public addresses, and private conversation, so in the universal peace and prosperity of mankind, will the men who make this first treaty of permanent arbitration, be the subjects of the most distinguished fame. For, the achievement of the world's permanent peace must be the subject of more glory by those who enjoy the blessing, than the glory of all warriors ever was to those who lived in the times, suffered the calamities, and paid the expenses of war.

What would be the effect on England of such a treaty of permanent peace? The first effect would be to strengthen her position of liberty against the hostility of European despots. It would be a union of the free Bible readers, the free consciences, the free press, and the free constitutions and franchise, against the present continental combination of oppression, persecution, and the unrestrained will of monarchs. Europe would see that England and America must command the ocean, and enjoy uninterrupted trade and intercourse, and that wealth and power are increasing with much greater rapidity with us than with the rest of Christendom. Our governments, settled upon a basis that has the confidence of the people, are strong, while those on the continent of Europe are weak and revolutionary, thickly beset with men of stern purpose to change them. The union of England and America will facilitate these changes, and every such change will flee for protection to this union. Light, liberty and Christianity will be on our banners; ignorance, bigotry and tyranny on the banners of the continental nations, till the people overthrow them with their revolutionary power.

Thus will be effected among nations what has existed among individuals—the removing of jealousies that are temporary, and the establishment of friendships which are enduring. Cannot these two nations express their friendship and confidence by a treaty of peace which shall declare that there is no more hope from war, no further reliance on war, no longer purpose of war between us? We have confidence in Christian peace, and provisions for peace without war.

Have you, indeed, little confidence that this can be adopted? Is it a failure that you fear? What if it does not succeed on the first trial? The principle must succeed in the end. What great good has succeeded without a struggle, and temporary reverses? Posterity being your judges, since by posterity your history will be written, that nation which first emerges from war and its preparations, is to be great in the history of the golden age of peaceful nations.

On the morning after such an alliance is ratified, the people of these two nations rise, each with a new thought in his mind that will revolutionize the world. Each will say, or will feel, that on this morning there shines the approving countenance of the Saviour; for now has come the conquest of wisdom, of justice and of peace. That morning will fulfil the prediction of God, 'For ye shall go out with joy, and be led forth with *Peace*; the mountains and the hills shall break forth before you into singing, and all the trees of the field shall clap their hands.' On that morning, commerce will break forth into singing,—'The ocean, the peaceful ocean, is forever ours; for the decree is, that its waves shall be no more crimsoned with Saxon blood shed by Saxon hands.' The echoes of that song will meet mid-way on the Atlantic, and will spread over the face of all waters. The sons of industry will rise on that morning, and clap their hands in the assurance, that humanity and economy have triumphed, that 'mercy and truth are met together,—righteousness and peace have kissed each other; and now our land shall yield her increase,' because our industry will now be our own. On that morning the heart of the mother will rejoice, that her sons will not be tempted to the field of slaughter, nor to the camp of moral death. On that morning genius will rejoice that its victories are to be gained only on the field of peace, and that martial glories are among the things that were. The Christian will raise his heart in adoration, because his eyes have seen the salvation from war of the Protestant nations, and the dawn of the promise fulfilled, 'Peace on Earth.' National prosperity on a new foundation, the basis of love and peace, will commence a new era and a new history, and raise to the breeze a new banner, written over all its folds, **WARS ARE ENDED. PEACE FOREVER.**

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#### GENERAL VIEWS OF PEACE.

**RISE OF PEACE SOCIETIES.**—Specific efforts in this cause are of recent date. The first effectual appeal was made in a pamphlet published in December, 1814; and the first Peace Society in modern times was organized in the city of New York, during the summer of 1815, and followed, in eight or ten months, by one in Massachusetts, another in Ohio, and a still more important one in London, all without any knowledge of each other's existence; a striking proof that God had himself prepared the way. Similar societies have since been multiplied in England and America. Kindred efforts have been made to some extent in France, in Switzerland, and other parts of Christendom; and their influence has reached the extremities of the civilized world, and been felt in some degree by nations never blessed with the light of the gospel. The American Peace Society, organized in 1828 as a bond of union among all the friends of peace throughout our country, and soliciting co-operation without regard to sect or party, has been cordially espoused by some among all the religious denominations in the land, and the pulpits of almost every sect have actually been occupied more or less by its agents in pleading the claims of this great evangelical enterprise.